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# Role Orientation of Women Legislators in the North Dakota Legislature

Doris Wilke Sanders

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ROLE ORIENTATION  
OF  
WOMEN LEGISLATORS  
IN THE  
NORTH DAKOTA LEGISLATURE

BY

DORIS WILKE SANDERS

AN INDEPENDENT STUDY  
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FOR THEIR ASSISTANCE WITH THIS PAPER:

Faculty Advisor: Dr. Ronald Pynn

Legislative Interns: Steve Bolme, Mike Dwyer, Dane Frey,  
Duane Gronhvod, Greg Hennessy, Mary  
Price, Gretchen Vaaler, Karen Wills.

Committee Clerks: Lyla Flagg, Dorothy Johnson, Lela  
Knudsen, Lorraine Moos, Dianne  
Nelson, Betty Perkins, Andrea Pern,  
Arlene Reich, Leah Rogne, Helen  
Soma, Janice Thon, Betty Whitman,  
Paulette Wilson.

Women Legislators: Representatives Beauclair, Benedict,  
Black, Eagles, Haugland, Herman,  
Kelly, Kermott, F. Lee, McCaffrey,  
Meiers, Mushik, Olson, Powers, Reed,  
Wentz.  
Senators Fritzell, Miller, S. Lee.

Active Supporter: Jack Wilke

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## PREFACE

An increasing number of women are emerging as participants in occupations which have traditionally been considered to be 'Men's Work'. The political arena is no exception. With increasing frequency women are running for, and winning, political office. This phenomenon of women in legislative seats is presently being studied on the national level, but almost no research exists about the participation of women as state politicians or legislators. For this reason, an exploratory analysis of the role orientation of women legislators in the North Dakota legislature is timely and important.

This paper is not a definitive analysis of the subject. Due to the absence of methodological approach for sex roles, and to the lack of resource information available, the paper should be viewed as an exploratory inquiry into the emerging field of legislative behavior. Since it is a pioneer project of its type, many methodological decisions were made by the researcher without benefit of collegial agreement. The results are therefore suggestive, not mathematically precise. The paper has merit as a preliminary study of the subject, and provides basis for further study, but more operationalization needs to be done before a definitive treatment of the role orientation of women legislators is available.

## "CHAPTER I"

### BACKGROUND

Although there have been women in state legislatures, including the North Dakota State Legislature, for many years, almost no research has been done on their role as legislators. The fact that they have been present in such small numbers may have accounted for much of the dearth of study, as this would make compiling significant data difficult. There has, however, been a marked increase in the last decade in the number of women serving in state legislatures. North Dakota has been no exception. In 1977, nineteen women served, versus 6 in 1967.<sup>1</sup>

The purpose of this study is to examine one aspect of women's service in the North Dakota State Legislature, their role orientation. Role orientation, for purposes of this study, is determined by the fact that the subjects of the study are women legislators. Thus, exploration of female-male differences and similarities in approaching different aspects of legislative work is an important part of the study. Even more important is a perusal of women's attitudes toward themselves as legislators, and of the attitudes toward them by others who are in close contact with them. This information should provide insight

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<sup>1</sup> Journal of the House of the Fortieth Session of the Legislative Assembly, Bismarck Tribune, Preface.

into the role orientation of women serving not only in the North Dakota State Legislature, but in other states as well. Women, both legislators and non-legislators, who read this study should be more able to examine their own role orientation and perhaps become aware of political problems previously hidden. Men reading this study should gain insight into the complexities ever present when women attempt to enter fields historically, culturally and socially dominated by men.

This study does not give any definitive, concrete answers or conclusions. Indications, insights and implications can be drawn from this material, but it is an explanatory analysis. As has been mentioned before, there is a lack of research materials on this subject. More should be quick to follow, as it is an area with rich potential for research.

## "CHAPTER II"

### METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

A review of the literature available concerning women in state legislatures produced no tested model upon which to base this study, so an original model was devised. It was difficult to develop categories which utilized the information gathered for this study without forcing meaning from it, but the typologies established proved quite adequate.

In order to study the role orientation of women legislators in the North Dakota Legislature, two key variables, effectiveness and activity, were isolated. Using these variables, four typologies were set up:

1. Effective-Active
2. Effective-Passive
3. Ineffective-Active
4. Ineffective-Passive

An observation sheet was designed to examine the variables (see Observation Questions, Appendix), and was distributed to both the Legislative Committee Interns and Committee Clerks, who completed one for each of the woman legislators in their committees. Tape recorded interviews were done of each of the nineteen women legislators, and a specific set of questions which also examined the isolated variables was used for each interview (see Interview Questions in Appendix). An Interview Synopsis Sheet (See Appendix) was designed to encapsulate the material discussed in the interviews.



Effectiveness was determined by measuring the success of attempts by the women legislators to influence decisions. (Questions 7, 16, and 19 on the Observation Questions Sheet). It was also measured by how seriously the woman legislator's contributions to the legislative process were taken by other legislators (Questions 4, 5, 9, and 15 on the Observation Questions Sheet). Frequency of contributions to legislative activity (Questions 1, 10 and 11 on the Observation Questions Sheet) and assertiveness (Questions 6, 8, 17 and 20 on the Observation Questions Sheet) were the factors which determined activity.

When the interns and clerks completed the Observations Questions Sheets, they were, in effect, giving the women "points" on each of the variables, as they were given a scale of 1 to 5 for each question on which to rate the women. These "points" in each of the two categories of effectiveness and activity were then added, averaged and converted into percentages. Figure I (see page 5) illustrates the format of the tool used to compile these percentages.

A coefficient of .75 was established, with women scoring above .75 on both effectiveness and activity categorized as Effective-Active, above .75 on effectiveness but below .75 on activity scored as Effective-Passive and so forth. All of the women were observed by two interns and two clerks, one each for both committees upon which the women served, except for those on the House Appropriations Committee. The scores of the three women on this committee were based only on the observation of the committee clerk, as no interns staff that committee.

		Intern		Total		Intern		Total	
Legislator I		Question#							
Effectiveness	Success-7, 16, 19	3, 4, 3	4, 4, 4	3, 4, 3	4, 4, 4	3, 4, 3	4, 4, 4	3, 4, 3	4, 4, 4
	Seriousness-4, 5, 9, 15	5, 3, 5, 5	5, 3, 5, 5	5, 3, 5, 5	5, 3, 5, 5	5, 3, 5, 5	5, 3, 5, 5	5, 3, 5, 5	5, 3, 5, 5
	Frequency-1, 10, 11	4, 5, 4	4, 5, 4	4, 5, 4	4, 5, 4	4, 5, 4	4, 5, 4	4, 5, 4	4, 5, 4
Activity	Assertiveness-6, 8, 17, 20	5, 5, 4, 5	5, 5, 4, 5	5, 5, 4, 5	5, 5, 4, 5	5, 5, 4, 5	5, 5, 4, 5	5, 5, 4, 5	5, 5, 4, 5

		Clerk		Total		Clerk		Total		Average Total Interns & Clerks	
Legislator I Question#											
Effectiveness	Success-7, 16, 19	3, 5, 3	4, 3, 3	3, 5, 3	.83	5, 3, 5	5, 3, 5	4, 3, 3	5, 3, 5	.86	.85
	Seriousness-4, 5, 9, 15	5, 3, 5, 5	5, 3, 5, 5	5, 3, 5, 5				5, 3, 5, 5	5, 3, 5, 5		
Activity	Frequency-1, 10, 11	5, 3, 3	4, 5, 5	5, 3, 3				4, 5, 5	5, 3, 3	.96	.93
	Assertiveness-6, 8, 17, 20	5, 5, 5, 5	5, 5, 5, 5	5, 5, 5, 5	.89	5, 5, 5, 5	5, 5, 5, 5	5, 5, 5, 5	5, 5, 5, 5		

Average  
Total  
Interns &  
Clerks

.85

.86

.93

Figure I

The personal interviews provided material for reinforcement and/or comparison of that obtained from the Observation Questions. They also provided a second approach by which to measure the role orientation of women legislators in the North Dakota Legislature. Using the data from the Interview Synopsis Sheets, categories of "traditional" and "non-traditional" were established. The traditional woman legislator was defined as one who had:

- I. a. Low awareness of sex interfering with self expectations
- b. High degree of satisfaction with her role as a legislator
- and/or
- II. a. Low awareness of sex roles
- b. Low degree of frustration with her role as a legislator

The non-traditional woman legislator was defined as one who had:

- I. a. High awareness of sex interfering with self-expectation
- b. Low degree of satisfaction with her role as a legislator
- and/or
- II. a. High awareness of sex roles
- b. High degree of frustration with her role as a legislator

The Interview Synopsis Sheets, based on information from the interviews, provided the tool by which the women were scored. Again, .75 was used as the coefficient to determine "high" and "low" in traditional or non-traditional role orientation.

Comments from the interns and clerks pointed out some of the inadequacies in the Observation Sheet. Many felt it was impossible to apply all of the questions to all of the women legislators, did not feel the choice of responses was adequate, and did not like the comparisons being made with male legislators.

Generally, the clerks were less willing to fill out the sheets, and were much more protective, often even defensive, of the legislators. They particularly did not like the comparisons being made between the female and male legislators.

The sexual aspect of serving in the legislature, ie; "Were women at any time treated as sex objects in the traditional manner?" was not delved into in this study. This would have been a useful addition to the paper, and might easily have been incorporated into the interviews. The subject of an 'Old Boy's Club', of other women being a woman's 'worst enemy', and of the importance of women serving in the legislature came up so frequently during the first couple of interviews that they were automatically addressed throughout the rest of the interviews.

### "CHAPTER III"

#### RESULTS

Two primary approaches were used for this study to determine the role orientation of women legislators in the North Dakota Legislature. One of these, observations by committee interns and clerks, provided the four typologies described in the previous chapter. Figure II depicts the number of women in each category, their status as either veterans (more than one term as a legislator) or freshmen legislators, and the party to which they belong.

	Freshmen		Veterans		Totals
	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	
Effective-Active	0	0	1	2	3
Effective-Passive	0	0	2	3	5
Ineffective-Active	2	0	0	0	2
Ineffective-Passive	2	3	1	3	9
Totals	4	3	4	8	19

Figure II

An interesting result from a breakdown of the typology into party preference is the fact that both women who were in the Ineffective-Active group are Freshmen Democrats. With so few women falling into this category, however, it is difficult to draw any conclusions.

Figure III, resulting from the personal interview, depicts the number of women in the "traditional" and "non-traditional" categories. Their status as either veterans or freshmen, and the party to which they belong, is also charted.<sup>2</sup>

	Freshmen		Veterans		Totals
	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	
Traditionalist	4	3	2	5	14
Non-traditionalist	0	0	1	3	4
Totals	4	3	3	8	18

Figure III

The fact that all seven freshmen women legislators fell into the "traditional" category was surprising. One would expect that being, as an average, younger and newer to the political process would cause them to be less traditional.

Figure IV shows the results of a comparison of the two sets of typologies.

	Traditionalist	Non-traditionalist
Effective-Active	1	1
Effective-Passive	3	2
Ineffective-Active	2	0
Ineffective-Passive	8	1

Figure IV

<sup>2</sup>Human beings are not always able to be categorized and fit into slots. One woman fit neither the traditional or non-traditional role orientation. Thus Figure III is based on eighteen women instead of nineteen, the number which was serving in the legislature.

An important finding here is that of the nine women who were observed as being Ineffective-Passive, eight fell into the traditionalist typology. This conforms with the traditionally passive role women have played in society. It should be mentioned at this point that one of the women observed to be Ineffective-Passive, the non-traditionalist, was on the Appropriations Committee. Thus, she had only one observation done of her, versus four for most of the other women. She consistently deviated from the Ineffective-Passive group in every way, and random opinions solicited from others indicated she definitely did not belong in this group.

An interesting observation to be noted at this point is that in 63% of the cases, the clerk's observations scored higher than the interns. There may be many reasons for this. The interns might have been trained to look at the political process more critically than the clerks, but it was more likely a matter of identification. The clerks seemed to feel more identification with their committees; they more often seemed to feel they were a part of that committee than did the interns. This combined with the fact that the clerks felt little sense of identification with the researcher on the research being done may have led them to score the women higher. As was mentioned before, the clerks were much more defensive of their committees than the interns, and were more reluctant to complete the Observation Sheets at all. Thus they may have been more inclined to give the women the benefit of the doubt at any possible opportunity.

Traditionally, men have played a more active role than women in most life situations. Women have often contributed expertise, but have let men take the lead. The fact that fourteen of nineteen women scored higher on effectiveness than they did on activity indicates that this traditional concept is still valid. Only one woman, however, expressed a completely traditional viewpoint by stating "I like to see men in leadership positions. They're more stable than women. They don't get as frustrated. Men should be head of the household and of the legislature". A number of women made comments that women "still have lots to learn" in order to be as active as they'd like to be.

With the exception of the one non-conforming case mentioned previously, all women who were observed as being Ineffective-Passive showed very little awareness when interviewed of sex roles playing an important part in any aspect of the legislative process. Two of the three Effective-Active women saw sex roles as a very important aspect to be taken into consideration. Typical comments from the "Ineffective" group were "Being a woman doesn't make one bit of difference" or "There are no 'women' and 'men'--we're all representatives. It's been easier for me being a woman--men listen to me more, and I've gotten great reception in committees". On the other hand, typical comments from "Effective" women were "As a woman, you have to work twice as hard. Younger women are thought of as women, rather than legislators", or "A woman has to move slower in all areas than a man does. A brash young man is looked on as aggressive, while a brash young woman is looked on quite



differently. Sex roles also sometimes get in the way of effectiveness. Usually they are society imposed, such as who invites who to lunch or dinner, and why the invitation is being issued".

These results certainly indicate that an awareness of sex roles is essential to effectiveness. One might wonder if the Ineffective group's low awareness of the importance of sex roles to effectiveness might be due to inexperience, since none of the freshmen legislators were seen as being effective. Thus, effectiveness may be as much a function of experience as sex, but the importance of an awareness of sex roles cannot be overlooked as an important aspect of effectiveness.

Figure V synthesizes the results of a comparison of the traditional or non-traditional role orientation of the women with their effectiveness and activity. It also includes their status as either a freshman or veteran.

	Traditionalist		Non-Traditionalist		Totals
	Freshman	Veteran	Freshman	Veteran	
Effective-Active	0	1	0	1	2
Effective-Passive	0	3	0	2	5
Ineffective-Active	2	0	0	0	2
Ineffective-Passive	5	3	0	1	9
Totals	7	7	0	4	18

Figure V

Six veteran legislators and one freshmen legislator felt women had to work harder than men to be effective. All of these women were in the Effective-Active or Effective-Passive groups. However, four of the five veterans who did not believe women had to work harder to be effective were also in these two groups.

Four of the five freshmen who felt women did not have to work harder were in the Ineffective-Passive group. There seems to be no clear relationship between effectiveness, experience, and attitude toward differences in the amount of work necessary by women in comparison to men in order to be effective.

During the interview, the women were asked to evaluate the areas of legislative activity in terms of their effectiveness. Figure VI shows the results according to the ranking by the women legislators:

Effectiveness Ranking	Area of Legislative Activity			
	Committee	Caucus	Floor	Informal Groups
1	10	0	4	5
2	7	4	5	3
3	1	6	6	6
4	1	9	4	5

Figure VI

There was no consistency between role orientation and rating effectiveness, except that both of the Ineffective-Active women ranked the committees as their most effective area, the caucus as their second most effective, the floor as third, and informal groups fourth. All three Effective-Active women rated the committee as either first or second as a place of effectiveness. No further patterns were present, other than the fact that the caucus was seen by all women as being a difficult place to be effective. The most typical comment from the Republican women was that the caucuses were "too Leader dominated" for individual members to be effective, although two women strongly disagreed with that statement. The Democrats saw the caucus as

being "too short in time for the number of people who wanted to talk."

The fact that the committee is the place women felt most effective seems logical in view of the fact that people get to know each other better in the committees, thus feel more comfortable when speaking freely than in any of the other three areas of legislative activity. Cultural or society-imposed restrictions were mentioned often in relation to lack of effectiveness in informal groups. The social stigma against women going into public places alone, particularly lounges, was seen as being a definite block to access to many important informal discussions. Also, the presence of an 'Old Boy's Club' composed of men who have shared similar life experiences thus can "speak the same language," and probably have been acquainted for some time, was also seen as a block to effectiveness in informal situations.

Lack of: 1) speaking skills, 2) knowledge of parliamentary procedures and 3) experience in being in the public eye were seen as the primary obstacles to being effective on the floor. Experience and a sense of timing, (knowing "when to speak and when to shut-up"), were noted by several women as the key elements to effectiveness on the floor.

Five veteran women legislators and two freshmen felt very strongly that an 'Old Boy's Club' exists. None of these seven women were in the Ineffective-Passive group, but were dispersed throughout the other three groups. Of the five women who felt an 'Old Boy's Club' definitely did not exist, three were freshmen

in the Ineffective-Passive group. One might conclude that the Ineffective-Passive freshmen legislators were still enough in awe of being legislators, or inexperienced enough, or passive enough, that they had not noticed the presence of such a phenomenon, if indeed it does exist. The veteran women legislators who definitely believed it exists were all in the Effective-Active or Effective-Passive groups. It seems reasonable that the experienced legislators would be more aware of an 'Old Boy's Club', as they would have been exposed more to the power limitations which it would place upon them.

An awareness of the effects of sex roles was studied both in relationship to individual effectiveness, and as it pertained to leadership activity. Seven of the nine Ineffective-Passive women showed very little awareness of the effects of sex roles upon leadership, while the exact same women, (none of whom were in the Ineffective-Passive group) who showed high awareness of the importance of sex roles to effectiveness showed high awareness of the effects of sex roles upon leadership activity. Typical comments of these women were that they "were not taken as seriously as the men" or that "politics is a male game in which women are still outsiders" or "Leadership is on a buddy system which bases decisions on comradeship as much as knowledge and study. Women can't gain leadership as easily due to the 'Old Boy's Club' which women aren't a part of. A woman has to work much harder and be much better in order to be considered good enough for leadership."

The Ineffective-Passive women who showed low awareness

of the effects of sex roles upon leadership commented that "A woman has just as good a chance if the woman has leadership qualities," or "I haven't experienced that anybody keeps anybody else out of leadership positions because they are women. The best idea is listened to" or "A woman has an exceptionally equal chance of being a leader. I can't believe the complaints other women have. You can be anything you want to be. I am not a Women's Libber and wasn't for ERA. Women are too picky. Their own attitude puts them down."

Based on these results, one can assume that an awareness of the effects of sex roles upon leadership is important to an understanding of how one gains a leadership position. Of the six women who held a formal leadership position, either Assistant Floor Leader, Committee Chairwoman or Committee Vice Chairwoman, four believed women have to work harder than men to gain a leadership position. In all, nine veteran legislators and four freshmen believed this to be true. If experience is an indicator of validity of judgement, one could assume that women will have to work harder than men to gain leadership positions, as a large majority of veteran legislators felt this was so.

Of the nineteen women interviewed only three expressed a high opinion of themselves as potential leaders, one from each group except Ineffective-Active. Both of the Ineffective-Active women expressed a low opinion of themselves as leaders, indicating that they "would rather work outside the party and be mavericks or loners in order to get things done." Altogether, eleven of the nineteen women, all who were in the Traditionalist Role

orientation, gave themselves very low marks as potential leaders. These eleven were found in all groups except Effective-Active.

A large variety of reasons was given for the low opinion of themselves as potential leaders. Age, lack of experience, and "being more effective behind the scenes" were common reasons. Twelve women, however, indicated that they would be interested if a leadership position ever seemed like a possibility. One woman commented that "women have always played an indirect leadership role and now need to learn to use the knowledge and expertise gained from this to play a more direct leadership role."

The attitude of women toward leadership may best be explained by the woman who remarked "It's very difficult for me to think of myself in a leadership position. We women have been trained to follow, not to lead."

Women are not necessarily allies of each other. Of the ten women in the Effective-Active, Effective-Passive, and Ineffective-Active group, five commented that other women were often their "worst enemies". One woman's view was "Women are generally not supportive of other women, due to envy and programming that this is a 'man's job'. Also, women are not wanting to be exposed as to how little they really contribute by their life styles." Another woman's observation was "Women are their own worst enemies, not only in political affairs, but in American society. Pickiness and pettiness are much more common than with men. This is not so of legislative women, however."

Seven of the nine Ineffective-Passive women believed other women were very supportive of them. They made comments ranging

from "I couldn't have been elected without the women in my district" to "The women were very sweet."

The fact that many of the women not in the Ineffective-Passive group saw other women as not being supportive, while most women in the Ineffective-Passive group saw other women as being supportive, could have several explanations. The more effective or active women may have been more aggressive and outspoken, thus more threatening to the average non-legislative woman. Also, the fact that all of the Ineffective-Passive women were found to fit a "Traditional" typology leads one to hypothesize that they may simply have more in common with many non-legislative women than do the other women legislators. It does seem apparent, though, that a woman can not automatically assume that other women will support her.

During the interviews, the women were all questioned about sources of frustration and satisfaction. Ten women experienced their greatest frustration over issues, while two felt more personal frustrations. Two (Ineffective-Passive) women felt no frustration at all. All of the Effective-Active and Ineffective-Active groups found issues their primary source of frustration. This seems logical, as what they have in common is activity, and this could only lead to heightened frustration, due to the methodical and slow changing nature of the legislative process itself.

Seven of the nine women in the Ineffective-Passive group expressed a low level of frustration with their roles as legislators. Of the Effective-Active group, two of the three women

expressed a low level of frustration, but the comments of the two groups were quite dissimilar. For example, one Effective-Active legislator commented that it was frustration to "see bills with merit go down," but that this frustration was "balanced by seeing a bill come out of committee in the form you want it to." Typical comments by members of the Ineffective-Passive group concerning frustration were: "I can't think of anything very frustrating" or "Nothing is not rewarding."

Four of the Ineffective-Passive group who expressed a low level of frustration were freshmen, which leads one to hypothesize that they may still have been so caught up in the excitement of being a legislator that frustrations seemed more minor. It might also be that they were simply doing less, thus had less to be frustrated about.

Three of the five women observed as being Effective-Passive expressed high levels of frustration, while the two women who were rated as being Ineffective-Active expressed low levels of frustration. This is opposite from what one might expect, but makes one wonder if the Effective-Passive women were frustrated because they were not more active, while the Ineffective-Active were working out their frustration through their activity.

Eleven of the nineteen women received their greatest sense of satisfaction from issue oriented achievements, and five from personal expectations being met. (Three did not comment). There was no pattern of satisfaction according to typologies. The group of women as a whole felt their self-expectations were being met, and felt satisfaction with their role as a legislator. Not



one indicated complete dissatisfaction.

The attitude of the women legislators toward running again was positive. The reasons given most often for not running again were:

If constituents decide against me	---6
Home and Family	---6
Health	---3
Age	---3
Difficulty of campaign	---3
Business	---1
"Fishbowl" feeling	---1

Of the 19 women legislators, 14 from all categories believe it is extremely important that women serve as legislators.

The reasons given were:

Look at things differently from men	---8
Add softness to legislative process	---4
Are a half of our population which should be represented	---3
More interested in human welfare	---3
Changes outcome of legislation	---1
To open up positions of power to women	---1
Adds levity to the legislature	---1
"Pretty up" the legislature	---1
Bring "Mother's point of view"	---1

## "CHAPTER IV"

### SUMMARY

Certain conclusions can be drawn from this study. It would seem that women who are intensely aware of sex roles are more Effective and Active than those who are not. Consequently, the first step to overcoming the obstacle of sex roles is knowledge and awareness of them, and women legislators who deny the existence of this obstacle are deluding themselves.

Experience proved to be a second important variable in order for a woman legislator to be both effective and active. The old saying "Experience is the best teacher" apparently holds quite true, as through experience the women seem to recognize the techniques and strategies which cause them to be effective.

A third conclusion is that women believe they have a difficult struggle ahead before equality in the legislative process will be achieved. Their feeling of hopelessness as potential leaders, their frustration with the 'Old Boy's Club', and their numerous comments that women "have to work much harder than men" in order to accomplish their goals clearly illustrate this fact.

Finally, it can be concluded that women who are still firmly enmeshed in traditional attitudes and ways of doing things are not as effective legislators as those who have broken out of

the traditional mold. The traditional role of women is to follow, not to lead, and a legislator is supposed to play a leadership role in order to meet constituent needs. Thus, the woman legislator who is still content to "follow along" is not as effective as those who seek less traditional methods of performing the legislative role.

The model used for this study proved to be adequate, but needs certain improvements. The observations done by the clerks and interns were based only on committee performance. The typologies would have been much more reliable if a tool had been devised to observe and score the women in caucus, on the floor, and in informal groups. Also, a wider variety of responses from which to score the women should have been provided for the observers.

The questions asked of the women legislators during the personal interviews were very adequate for determining traditional and non-traditional role orientations. There should have been more questions which could have been used for comparison and contrast with the results of the observations. Also, if possible, two persons other than the researcher should have listened to the tapes and completed the Interview Synopsis Sheets. The average of the three scores would have made 'researcher's bias' less of a factor.

Effectiveness and Activity are important variables to use to measure role orientation. They are facets in all aspects of the legislative process, and are variables which provide easy comparison with men. The measure of 'assertiveness' as one of the factors determining activity was weak in this model, as many

of the clerks and interns interpreted the questions differently than was intended. They tended to consider them very negative questions.

Categorizing the women into traditional and non-traditional role orientations was a very important part of this study, and should definitely be retained as a part of this model. It provided the framework in which to place the women legislators in order to understand the reasons why they fit into the typologies used. It gave a method of measurement which is generally understood and agreed upon by society.

The subject of role orientation of women legislators in state legislatures provides a wealth of areas for further research. Background information, including previous professional and political experience, would provide additional valuable information about role orientation. The importance of informal groups and contacts to the woman legislator's effectiveness should be studied, with the access of women to informal groups being an important part of the study.

The subject of constituents was hardly mentioned in this paper. A study of constituent's perceptions of women legislators, especially in comparison with their perception of male legislators, would provide valuable data. Also, male legislator's views of women legislators should be researched in a scientific manner in the near future.

An analysis of the areas of political activity in which women are most effective would be useful, along with a discussion of areas of least effectiveness. Reasons for this effectiveness,

or lack thereof, would be an important aspect of this study.

Whether political party affiliation affects the role orientation of women legislators is another subject for further research. This could be very logically tied in with an exploration of political party preference and traditional or non-traditional role orientation.

The attitudes of legislative staff toward women legislators, versus their attitude toward male legislators, could also be examined. This attitude could definitely affect the overall performance of a woman legislator, as the staff could be a definite help or hindrance in her access to information necessary for effective legislation.

The role orientation of state women legislators is a field of research almost untouched. This study of the effectiveness and activity of women legislators in the North Dakota legislature, and of their traditional or non-traditional role orientation, only opens the door to many other questions which should be researched. This research will provide valuable data for the campaign and legislative activities of the increasing number of women becoming involved in the legislative process at the state level.

Legislator \_\_\_\_\_

Committee \_\_\_\_\_

Observer \_\_\_\_\_

OBSERVATION QUESTIONS  
Role Orientation of Women  
Legislators in North Dakota

1. Does she initiate amendments?

5 \_\_\_\_\_ 4 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_  
often                      sometimes                      never

2. Do other committee members initiate amendments?

5 \_\_\_\_\_ 4 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_  
often                      sometimes                      never

3. Are her amendments usually procedural (mechanical) or substantive ("meaty")?

Procedural                      substantive                      both

4. Does the committee seriously consider and discuss the amendments she offers?

5 \_\_\_\_\_ 4 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_  
usually                      sometimes                      rarely

Is as much time spent on amendments she offers as is spent on amendments offered by male legislators?

5 \_\_\_\_\_ 4 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_  
more time                      as much                      less

5. Does she offer suggestions?

5 \_\_\_\_\_ 4 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_  
often                      sometimes                      never

Is as much time spent on her suggestions as is spent on suggestions offered by male legislators?

5 \_\_\_\_\_ 4 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_  
more time                      as much                      less

Does she offer information for consideration by the committee?

5 \_\_\_\_\_ 4 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_  
often                      sometimes                      never

9. Is information she offers as seriously considered as that offered by male legislators?

5 \_\_\_\_\_ 4 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_  
usually                      sometimes                      rarely

Does she ask questions or respond to witnesses as often as male legislators?

5 \_\_\_\_\_ 4 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_  
more often                      as often                      less often

11. Do male legislators ask as often for information or comments from her as they do from male legislators?

5 \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_  
more often as often less often

12. Is she addressed with more familiarity than male legislators are by other members of the committee (by first name, Miss, or Mrs., rather than "Senator" or "Representative")?

5 \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_  
yes sometimes no

13. Is her speaking voice softer than most male legislators?

yes no

14. If her voice is softer; does this detract from her ability to be recognized and heard?

5 \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_  
often sometimes never

Not Applicable

15. Does she receive recognition from the chair as readily as male legislators?

5 \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_  
usually not as often rarely

16. Do other members of the committee look to her for cues on how to proceed in any given situation?

5 \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_  
often sometimes never

17. Does she attempt to take the lead or give cues in any given situation?

5 \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_  
often sometimes rarely

18. Does she make motions for final action on bills as often as male legislators?

5 \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_  
more often as often less often

19. Do her motions succeed as often as those of male legislators?

5 \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_  
more often as often less often

20. When confronted with conflict situations, how does she respond?

\_\_\_ aggressive \_\_\_ passive \_\_\_ accepting \_\_\_ hostile \_\_\_ withdrawn \_\_\_ embarrassed

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

ROLE ORIENTATION OF WOMEN  
LEGISLATORS IN NORTH DAKOTA

1. What are your expectations as a woman legislator? Do you feel these expectations differ from those of your male counterparts?
2. Is being a woman a hindrance/help for performing the role which you desire?
3. Will you run for reelection? Can you rank those factors that are most important in influencing your decision?
4. What are the things that make an effective legislator? Has being a woman helped or hindered your effectiveness? If so, how?
5. Evaluate your effectiveness in terms of what you want to accomplish in:
  - a. committee
  - b. caucus
  - c. floor
  - d. informal groupsHow has being a woman helped/hindered your effectiveness in these roles?
6. In light of # 5 in terms of effectiveness, what have been your most rewarding and least rewarding experiences? Have they in any way been related to your being a woman?
7. Are you aspiring to be a legislative leader of any kind (either formal or informal)? Why or why not? Can a woman attain a leadership position as easily as a man in the North Dakota legislature?
8. Do you feel women can be (or are) as effective in leadership positions as men are in the North Dakota legislature? What do you think are the primary obstacles for women who seek to be legislative leaders?
9. What advantage do you think you might have as a woman seeking to be a legislative leader?
10. Would you like to be considered for formal leadership positions? What would you try to achieve?



# INTERVIEW SYNOPSIS SHEET

Competent \_\_\_\_\_ Activity \_\_\_\_\_ Intern Tot. \_\_\_\_\_ Clerk Tot. \_\_\_\_\_

## SELF-EXPECTATION-THE LEGISLATIVE ROLE ORIENTATION

- a. Sex as independent variable (Expectations dependent upon being a woman)  
Lo \_\_\_\_\_ Hi \_\_\_\_\_
- b. Sex as Intervening Variable (Sex interferes with self expectations)  
Lo \_\_\_\_\_ Hi \_\_\_\_\_
- c. Threshold Awareness of Sex Roles in Self Expectation (Independent or Intervening)  
Lo \_\_\_\_\_ Hi \_\_\_\_\_
- d. Self Expectation & Satisfaction  
Lo \_\_\_\_\_ Hi \_\_\_\_\_

## LEADERSHIP (VIEW OF SELF & HOW THEY SEE OTHERS VIEWING THEM)

- a. Self View as Leader  
Lo \_\_\_\_\_ Hi \_\_\_\_\_
- b. Awareness of Sex Roles & Leadership  
Lo \_\_\_\_\_ Hi \_\_\_\_\_
- c. How "significant others" (usually men) view women as leaders  
Lo \_\_\_\_\_ Hi \_\_\_\_\_

## EFFECTIVENESS (VIEW OF OWN EFFECTIVENESS & EFFECTIVENESS AS JUDGED BY OTHERS)

- a. Self view of effectiveness  
Lo \_\_\_\_\_ Hi \_\_\_\_\_
- b. Awareness of Sex Roles & Effectiveness  
Lo \_\_\_\_\_ Hi \_\_\_\_\_
- c. How others evaluate their effectiveness  
Lo \_\_\_\_\_ Hi \_\_\_\_\_
- d. Most & Least Effective Location of Effectiveness & Why
  1. committee \_\_\_\_\_
  2. caucus \_\_\_\_\_
  3. Floor \_\_\_\_\_
  4. Informal Groups \_\_\_\_\_

## FRUSTRATION WITH ROLE AS LEGISLATOR

Lo \_\_\_\_\_ Hi \_\_\_\_\_

## IMPORTANCE OF WOMEN SERVING AS LEGISLATORS

Lo \_\_\_\_\_ Hi \_\_\_\_\_

## ATTITUDE TOWARD RUNNING AGAIN

Lo \_\_\_\_\_ Hi \_\_\_\_\_

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